

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

HERODOTUS 9. 73. 3 AND THE PUBLICATION DATE OF THE *HISTORIES*

In all recent discussions of the publication date of the *Histories*, the passage in the ninth book where Herodotus refers to the inviolability of Declea in the Archidamian War has assumed peculiar importance. It was used by O. J. Todd in 1922 to challenge the conventional publication date and was reused by C. W. Fornara, first in 1971 and again in controversy with J. Cobet in 1981.¹ It reads as follows (9. 73. 3):

τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελείῃ τε καὶ προεδρίῃ διατελεῖ ἐς τὸδε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἔοῦσα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινομένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελὲς ἀπέχεσθαι.

Sophanes of Declea had distinguished himself most of the Athenians at the battle of Plataea, and this observation led Herodotus to a digression on Declea itself. According to a tale that the Athenians themselves related (9. 73. 1), the Decleans had done an ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον: they (or according to another version, Decelus himself) had helped the sons of Tyndareus when they came to Athens in quest of Helen. As a consequence, the Spartans conferred ἀτέλεια and προεδρία upon the men of Declea ἐς τὸδε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἔοῦσα ("existing forever up to this point," i.e., presumably the time of writing); and as a further result, right up into the war that took place many years later between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, the Lacedaemonians spared Declea when they wasted the rest of Attica.

The argument put forward by Todd, and further developed by Fornara, is that the aorist participle γενόμενον refers to completed action in past time, thus implying that the Archidamian War at least was over; and the use of the preposition ἐς to denote time strengthens the implication. The grammar, however, does not settle the matter so neatly. The aorist can be inceptive in meaning,² and ἐς can mean "up to" or "up into": in fact, the immediately preceding phrase, ἐς τὸδε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἔοῦσα, uses the preposition with this meaning; and when the preposition is repeated eight words later, it probably does not have a radically

1. Todd, "On the Date of Herodotus' Death," *CQ* 16 (1922): 35–36; Fornara, "Evidence for the Date of Herodotus' Publication," *JHS* 91 (1971): 25–34; id., "Herodotus' Knowledge of the Archidamian War," *Hermes* 109 (1981): 149–56, in reply to J. Cobet, "Wann wurde Herodots Darstellung der Perserkriege publiziert?" *Hermes* 105 (1977): 2–27. See also J. A. S. Evans, "Herodotus' Publication Date," *Athenaeum* 57 (1979): 245–49; id., *Herodotus* (Boston, 1982), pp. 15–18. We need not believe that the *Histories* were published all within one year; by "publication date" I mean the year by which the complete manuscript had appeared and the author made no further revisions.

2. Cf. Cobet, "Herodots Darstellung," p. 4.

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different connotation. "Up into the war which took place many years after these events" is a defensible translation. The phrase refers neither to the precise beginning nor to the precise end of the war. The meaning of the words ἐς τότε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα and, earlier, of the phrase χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον (9. 73. 1), however, is clear: Declea continued to enjoy ἀτέλεια, προεδρία, and inviolability, *even though the rest of Attica was plundered*; and Herodotus looked forward to no change in Lacedaemonian policy.

We can, however, make something more out of the reference. It is worth noting that Herodotus claims an epichoric source (Athenian, and probably oral) for this "pretty story";³ and thirty years ago, E. T. Salmon suggested that the Athenians were caught off guard by the Spartan occupation of Declea in 413 B.C. because they relied upon Spartan scruple to protect the place.⁴ But a close reading of Thucydides may lead us to suspect that Declea had already suffered at the hands of Lacedaemonians.

In 431 B.C. the Spartan invasion force, failing to draw the Athenians out to battle, set out from Acharnae along the upper valley of the Cephissus and went thence by Declea into Oropia.⁵ If Archidamus passed Declea by and left it untouched, the story of Declea's ancient service to the Tyndarids may well have been resurrected in Athens to explain it; but perhaps the scope of the invasion of 431 would not have justified a phrase as broadly inclusive as "though (or, when) the Lacedaemonians plundered the *rest of Attica*." The following year, however, the destruction lasted forty days and ranged over the whole land of Attica. If Declea, one hundred and twenty stades from Athens, continued to be spared, it would not have gone unnoticed by the Athenians besieged in their plague-ridden city. But in 427, when Archidamus was dead or dying and the invasion was led by Cleomenes, acting for the young king Pausanias, the Spartans ravaged whatever they had left untouched in previous invasions (Thuc. 3. 26. 3). If we can take Thucydides' statement literally, it would indicate that by 427 the Spartans had overcome whatever scruples they had about Declea. Consequently, Herodotus' reference at 9. 73. 3 would be untrue after that date.⁶

It may be argued with some force that 427 B.C. is a frail terminus ante quem, for two reasons. First, it means that we must take Thucydides very literally: although he failed to mention Declea specifically, he knew that none of the places that had been spared earlier escaped in 427. This is, however, more than a mere argument from silence. Declea was to assume importance in 413: if it remained inviolate up to that date, then he wrote the passage at 3. 26. 3 very negligently indeed. The second objection is more serious. If Declea suffered attack in 427, as I think likely, how soon afterwards could Herodotus have

3. The phrase is A. W. Gomme's, in *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1956), p. 79.

4. "The Belated Spartan Occupation of Declea," *CR* 60 (1946): 13-14; cf. F. E. Adcock, "ΕΠΙΤΕΙΧΙΣΜΟΣ in the Archidamian War," *CR* 61 (1947): 2-7.

5. Thuc. 2. 23. 1; cf. Gomme, *HCT*, 2:79.

6. J. Enoch Powell, *The "History" of Herodotus* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 76, takes the passage literally: "The immunity of Declea lasted from 431 B.C. to 427 B.C."; Adcock, "ΕΠΙΤΕΙΧΙΣΜΟΣ," p. 2, admits the possibility. It should be noted that Herodotus also refers to the privilege of προεδρία and ἀτέλεια as lasting up to the time of writing, and it is hard to believe that the war could have continued for many years before this privilege was cancelled, de facto if not de iure.

learned of it? Very soon, if he was in Athens at the time. But we have no certain knowledge of his whereabouts in 427; and I have already indicated elsewhere that there is reason to think that his famous encomium of Athens was written somewhere else, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.⁷ Thuri was to claim his grave.⁸ If 9. 73. 3 was written in 429 or 428, and if Decelea was plundered in 427, Herodotus may have remained unaware for some time that his faith in Sparta's continued observance of her ancient custom was ill-founded.⁹ So 424 is still a better terminus ante quem than 427, and F. Jacoby's date seems still to be solidly based.¹⁰

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7. Evans, *Herodotus*, pp. 12–14.

8. W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1928), pp. 2–3.

9. There is little evidence on the speed with which news was disseminated in the fifth century B.C., but the evidence for the sixteenth century of our era, when conditions of travel were still not greatly different, is of some value; cf. F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York, 1976), pp. 358–71. If Herodotus was at Thuri in the early years of the Peloponnesian War, news from Athens could take up to a year to reach him. However, there are other factors to consider as well as distance and the shortness of the navigation season. The news received in Thuri from Athens must have been somewhat spotty.

10. "Herodotos," *RE* Suppl. 2 (1913): 233; cf. How and Wells, *Commentary*, 1:9. I have not dealt here with the other evidence for Herodotus' publication date, for I have little to add to my article cited in n. 1. It should be reiterated, however, that at 6. 98. 2, where Herodotus marks off three generations by the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, the implication that Artaxerxes was already dead is not a necessary one. We must believe, however, that Artaxerxes had ruled for a generation when this passage was written. If, on the other hand, Herodotus is counting three generations as one hundred years (cf. 2. 142. 2), then he is reckoning only approximately at 6. 98. 2, for the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes make up slightly less than a century. It is best not to insist upon the exactitude of Herodotus' mathematics in this passage.

After I had completed this paper, the Editor very kindly drew to my attention Cobet's essay, "Herodotus and Thucydides on War," in *Past Perspectives: Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing*, ed. J. S. Moxon, J. D. Smart, and A. J. Woodman (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 1–18, where he refers once again (pp. 17–18) to the question of the date of publication of the *Histories*. However, I have not as a result modified my paper, which is intended simply to demonstrate that 9. 73 of the *Histories* cannot be used to weaken Jacoby's arguments for a terminus ante quem of 424.

A NOTE ON THE LIVES OF THEOPHRASTUS AND STRATO IN DIOGENES LAERTIUS 5. 57–58

In all modern editions of Diogenes Laertius' *Vitae Philosophorum* the life of Theophrastus ends with this notice (5. 57):

Ἀκούσαι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἑρασίστρατον τὸν ἱατρὸν εἰσι δ' οἱ λέγουσι· καὶ εἰκός.¹

After εἰκός editors break the text, print the name Strato as the title of the next life, and then begin the life of Strato as follows (5. 58):

ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ

Διεδέξατο δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν σχολὴν Στράτων Ἀρκεσιλάου Λαμψακηνός, οὐ καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαθηκαῖς ἐμνημόνευσεν· ἀνὴρ ἐλλογμώτατος κτλ.

1. The text is reproduced as it appears in H. S. Long, ed., *Diogenes Laertii "Vitae Philosophorum,"* vol. 1 (Oxford, 1964), p. 228.